586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
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152 knife.

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
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369 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives [606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

602 264 Firstly, shame-avoidance whose criterion is whether or not the incumbents may eat food together or in the presence of one another, and secondly, shame-respect wherein food may be shared but ego must sit with eyes downcast and only the most necessary conversation passes between the parties. As a general rule the first holds between affines, although Table I illustrates the variability in this respect, and the second holds among consanguinal kin. There is a strong shame-avoidance relation between ego and his senior in-laws (kèsai); that is to say he will not eat in their presence, and he will not enter a hut alone with any of his female kèsai unless he has been in the habit of doing any of these before marriage.(1) This latter refers to the case of a preferential cousin marriage or marriage with the daughter 606 of a close friend. A polite person (male speaking) would manifest signs of shame-avoidance behaviour, no matter what his previous relationship with his future father-in-law, around the time of the marriage. It is then up to the in-law in question to remind him of their prior relationship and to persuade him that there should be no nungu between them now that they are son-in-law and father-in-law to one another.

593 Ideally, ego should show shame-avoidance in the presence of his wife when they are in public and only the most necessary conversation should pass between them. After many years of marriage or in the case of a barren marriage depending on the wishes of the couple involved, much of the formality of shame-avoidance (except

(1) An upper class informant claimed that a man should never even visit his in-laws alone but should always go in the company of friends.

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
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593 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general timidity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kərami (younger sibling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
(602) would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
• [606] ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

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582 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

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(1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.